



THE  
**MULUNGI PLAN DOSSIER**

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# REMOVE THE GUN AND YOU HAVE NO MUSEVENI

*A Forensic History of Manufactured Power and the Birth of the  
Ownership Generation*

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## **George W Magera**

Architect of the Mulungi Plan  
President, People's Progressive Party Uganda  
Principal, MSGROUP Global LLC

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Washington, DC | Kampala, Uganda | [themulungiplan.com](http://themulungiplan.com)

*Opportunism serves the prepared.*

*What remains when the gun is removed, the Constitution stops bending, and fear stops doing political work for the regime?*

## PART ONE

# The Country That Was Never Asked

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13,736,719 Ugandans did not endorse the 2026 presidential result. The Electoral Commission's national register stood at 21,681,491 voters. Museveni was declared winner with 7,944,772 votes. That means 10,315,290 registered Ugandans did not vote at all, while 3,421,429 cast votes that were not for him. By the regime's own arithmetic, Museveni secured 36.6 percent of the register. Nearly 2 out of every 3 registered Ugandans did not endorse him.

That was not new. In 2021, he won 6,042,898 votes out of 18,103,603 registered voters, 33.4 percent of the register. In 2016, he won 5,971,872 out of 15,277,198, 39.1 percent. In 2011, 5,428,369 out of 13,954,129, 38.9 percent. In 2006, 4,109,449 out of 10,450,788, 39.3 percent. In 2001, 5,088,470 out of 10,775,836, 47.2 percent. Only once in 7 presidential elections did Museveni cross half of the registered electorate. That was 1996, when he won 4,458,195 out of 8,492,231, 52.5 percent.

That is the Uganda the world has not been told about. A country whose ruler has not held majority endorsement of the registered electorate since 1996. A country whose opposition has also failed to cross a quarter of the register. A country whose largest bloc has been the unrepresented majority that refuses the menu on offer. They are not apathetic. They are not defeated. They are unowned.

*Uganda has been ruled by men who treated it as inheritance. The 13.7 million who withheld consent in 2026 are the citizens who have never been allowed to inherit it themselves. They are the Ownership Generation.*

They built the country with remittances, crops, clinics, churches, market stalls, schools, boda bodas, and small enterprise, then watched politics tell them for 40 years that the country belonged to someone else.

This article is written in defense of the 1995 Constitution of the Republic of Uganda. Every argument in it rests on the supremacy of that Constitution and the rule of law it establishes. The Mulungi Plan is a strictly non violent, constitutional, civic architecture designed to prevent state collapse and install the republic the Constitution promised. Everything here is a defense of constitutional order against military inheritance, coercive succession, and the conversion of citizenship into managed obedience.

## PART TWO

# The Door That Obote Opened

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Museveni's early political formation did not come through constitutionalism. State House's own biography places him at the University of Dar es Salaam from 1967 to 1970, immersed in radical student politics and influenced by Fanon, Marx, Lenin, Mao, and Rodney. Uganda Radio Network reports that he graduated in March 1970 and briefly worked as a researcher in President Obote's office. That sequence matters because it set the grammar

of his political life before he turned 26. He did not learn how citizens consent. He learned how power is seized, justified, and held.

That is the first real clue. Museveni did not emerge from apprenticeship in parliamentary opposition or constitutional design. He emerged from revolutionary politics, armed liberation doctrine, and direct exposure to state intelligence. The gun entered his political imagination before the ballot ever did.

### PART THREE

## The Door That Amin Opened

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In January 1971, Amin overthrew Obote. Museveni fled to Tanzania. During the Amin years he formed FRONASA and participated in exile politics, but the decisive military force that removed Amin in 1979 was Tanzania's army. State House itself says FRONASA formed one Ugandan fighting core that joined Tanzanian forces. Tanzania broke Amin. Museveni emerged from that collapse with armed contacts, political relevance, and a practical education in how state breakdown creates openings for prepared men.

After Amin fell, Museveni moved from insurgent to insider. State House records that he served as Minister of Defence, then Minister of Regional Cooperation, then Vice Chairman of the Military Commission. That places him inside the transitional machinery that stood over the 1980 election. He was not merely a clean outsider later denouncing a corrupted process. He was already part of the state that would become the pretext for his next war.

### PART FOUR

## The Election He Treated as Theatre

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The Uganda Patriotic Movement was launched in June 1980. The election followed in December. The Inter Parliamentary Union summary records the result plainly: UPC won 74 seats, DP won 51, and UPM won 1. Daily Monitor's reconstruction of Mbarara North records Sam Kutesa defeating Museveni 15,657 to 12,747. By ballot, the country did not choose him.

The structure of the election was compromised. Uganda's Electoral Commission history says Paulo Muwanga took control of the final announcement process. Scholarship on the 1980 election shows a double reality, malpractice serious enough to remain historically contested, yet external validation sufficient to close off clean international condemnation. Museveni operated inside that ambiguity.

The most damaging evidence still comes from Museveni's own memoir. As quoted by Daily Monitor, he admitted that UPM entered the election knowing it had "a poor chance." He described participation as "a mere gimmick" so they would not be branded troublemakers. He further admitted that they delayed going to the bush because they expected a "consignment of arms" from outside. That is not opposition propaganda. It is strategic confession. The ballot was cover. The bush was already in the design.

## PART FIVE

### The Door That Luwero Opened

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The bush war began on 6 February 1981 with the attack on Kabamba. The strategic base of the war, however, was not Ankole. It was Luwero. Buganda became the social terrain from which the war drew concealment, grievance, recruits, and food. Museveni's war was conceived elsewhere, but it found its political body in central Uganda.

Obote's counterinsurgency turned Luwero into a killing field. Historical summaries record the forced removal of about 750,000 civilians from the area of the then Luwero District. The broader civilian toll under Obote's second government has long been placed in the hundreds of thousands. The dead are real. The skulls are real. The graves are real. Buganda's suffering is not a metaphor. It is fact.

*That fact is exactly why the next point matters. The argument is not that Luwero's suffering was manufactured. It was not. The argument is that real suffering was later converted into permanent political entitlement.*

The dead became credentials. The displaced became foundation. A republic owed to Luwero was converted into a presidency claimed through Luwero.

The war itself carried more contingency than mythology admits. Obote fell in July 1985 not because Museveni alone destroyed him, but because the UNLA split and Acholi soldiers overthrew him. Again the pattern appears. A structural rupture opens. Museveni walks through it.

## PART SIX

### The Door That Tito Okello Opened

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On 27 July 1985, Tito Okello came to power through a coup led by Acholi elements of the UNLA. He then attempted a negotiated settlement. Talks opened in Nairobi on 26 August 1985 and produced an agreement signed on 17 December 1985. The agreement called for ceasefire, power sharing, and military integration.

The historical record since has been harsh. The NRA used the talks to consolidate position, expand control, and prepare for final assault rather than genuine settlement. Nairobi was not approached as peace. It was approached as timing.

By 22 January 1986, Kampala's defense was unraveling. Contemporary reporting described government troops abandoning posts, fleeing, and leaving weapons and positions behind. Museveni captured Kampala, but he captured it against a state whose military will had already cracked. On 29 January 1986, he was sworn in as president at age 41, not by ballot and not by national majority, but by armed victory at the end of a sequence of collapses.

That is the pattern that matters. Obote's fall opened one door. Amin's fall opened another. Tanzania's war opened another. The UNLA split opened another. Tito Okello's exhaustion

opened another. Kampala's disintegration opened the last one. Museveni did not manufacture every crisis. He mastered the use of crisis. That is opportunism at a high level. It is not democratic consent.

## PART SEVEN

### The Costume of the Ten Point Programme

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In 1986, the Ten Point Programme was presented as doctrine. It promised democracy, security, national unity, national independence, a self sustaining economy, social services, anti corruption, resettlement, African cooperation, and a mixed economy. Four decades later, the gap between text and practice is the regime's own indictment.

On democracy, the record is straightforward. Uganda did not hold a direct presidential election until 1996. The 1995 Constitution allowed political parties to exist, but Article 269 crippled normal party activity. Term limits were removed in 2005. The presidential age limit was removed in 2017. A regime secure in consent does not keep amputating succession restraints. It preserves them and wins under them.

On security, the state remained military at the center. Museveni has repeatedly performed the civilian presidency in uniform and publicly said he should be buried in it. At the same time, the state criminalized civilian political symbolism by designating the red beret as official military attire in 2019. The line was simple. Military symbolism belongs to the ruler, not the ruled.

On anti corruption, rhetoric and reality split. Uganda's corruption problem is not occasional leakage. It is structural extraction. The promise of clean government became permanent performance, not system.

The Ten Point Programme survives mainly as costume. It is useful now as a side by side test of promise against practice. On that test, the document fails its author.

## PART EIGHT

### The War That Never Ended

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Uganda is repeatedly described as a country at peace. That phrase hides more than it reveals. The war did not end. It changed form. A country does not need artillery on every road to live under wartime psychology. It only needs a population trained to whisper, fortify homes, distrust officialdom, route money defensively, and assume that the state can become predatory without warning.

That is how Uganda lives. High walls. Razor wire. Iron gates. Burglar proofing. Guards. Dogs. Cash spread across channels. Speech lowered in taxis, bars, schools, and workplaces. Children told not to repeat what is said at home. Journalists censoring before editors. Citizens approaching police, tax officials, or district bureaucrats as potential threats rather than servants. That is not peace as a civic condition. It is caution as a survival condition.

When caution fails, the force reappears openly. In Teso, insurgency and counterinsurgency scarred the region from 1986 to 1993. In Karamoja, Human Rights Watch documented unlawful killings, torture, arbitrary detention, and destruction of property during disarmament operations. In the north, Amnesty International documented extrajudicial killings and grave abuses in places such as Gulu, Kitgum, and Atiak. In Buganda, the 2009 unrest over the blocked Kayunga visit ended in deaths after state forces used live fire. In Kasese, Human Rights Watch found that more than 100 people were killed in November 2016, including at least 15 children. In Kampala and beyond, Human Rights Watch documented 54 deaths during the November 2020 crackdown after Bobi Wine's arrest. Fear in Uganda is not regional memory alone. It is national infrastructure.

*Naming this regional pain is not sectarianism. It is the constitutional prerequisite for national healing. The Mulungi Plan's 8+16+1 federal architecture exists to give every region constitutionally entrenched recognition, resources, and self-governance.*

That continuity is why stopping the next war before it begins is not a slogan. It is a constitutional necessity. The next war will not necessarily begin with a declaration. It will begin with contested command, disputed succession, mobilized street structures, frightened officers, panicked business families, and a country already trained to expect violence when power shifts. A serious transition plan must therefore do 3 things before the body of the sitting ruler fails: remove ambiguity over command, guarantee the personal safety and lawful property of those leaving power, and create a constitutional channel strong enough to block inheritance through the army. That is the problem the Mulungi Plan is built to solve.

## PART NINE

### The Uniform That Never Came Off

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Museveni was sworn in on 29 January 1986 in military attire, and he never fully left it. The symbolism is not trivial. Article 99 vests executive authority in the President as a civilian office. Article 208 establishes the UPDF as a national, non partisan force subordinate to civilian authority. Yet the public performance of the presidency under continuous military symbolism has blurred the constitutional line between civilian office and armed command for 4 decades.

That blur is not style. It is political pedagogy. It teaches the public, the civil service, the army, and foreign partners that the state is still finally held through military legitimacy. The uniform never came off because the underlying message never changed.

## PART TEN

### The Colonial Machine, Africanized

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The deepest layer of the indictment sits below Museveni's biography. Independence transferred title. It did not fully dismantle the colonial operating system. British rule governed Uganda through a small commanding center, district intermediaries, indirect local authority, tax extraction, and administrative obedience. Much of that skeleton survived independence and was later repurposed by the current regime.

The Resident District Commissioner is the modern example. Appointed from the center, reporting upward, sitting inside district security, and acting as State House's local eye, the RDC mirrors colonial district logic more than republican local sovereignty. Article 274 compounds the continuity by preserving existing law after the Constitution came into force, subject to conformity. In practice, that left large parts of Uganda's legal operating environment carrying forward statutory residue from earlier eras. The law remained. The rulers changed.

That is why the Mulungi Plan begins with sovereignty, not sentiment. Uganda never signed many of the laws it still lives under. The first task in healing a country governed through inherited extraction is a full constitutional and statutory audit, especially of pre 1962 law and post 1962 structures that preserved colonial distance between state and citizen.

## PART ELEVEN

### The Economic War on the Ordinary Citizen

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What does the machine produce in daily life?

It produces Kampala's boda economy as a national shock absorber. Reporting places the number of boda bodas operating in Kampala at around 350,000. Uganda's own planning documents say the economy created about 1.6 million jobs over the 2015/16 to 2019/20 period, about 320,000 a year, while roughly 500,000 people enter the labor market annually. That is the structural gap. The state is not creating enough opportunity to absorb the people it produces.

It produces a housing crisis and land insecurity at the same time. Uganda's housing deficit stands at 2.4 million units. Civil society reporting says 363,021 Ugandans were displaced by forced land evictions between January and June 2024. Families are squeezed from both sides. Too little secure housing. Too much insecure land.

It produces a country financed by the people it failed to keep. Remittances reached record levels and became one of the country's major economic stabilizers. The diaspora is therefore not merely a social category. It is proof. Wherever Ugandans are allowed to work in functioning systems, they thrive. The problem is not Ugandan capacity. The problem is Ugandan opportunity.

That is the economic war on the ordinary citizen. It is not always conducted with bullets. It is conducted through blocked mobility, thin opportunity, land insecurity, dependency, and the permanent postponement of ownership.

## PART TWELVE

# The Mathematics of Manufactured Power

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The numbers deserve to be seen together.

Year	Registered	Museveni Votes	% of Register
1996	8,492,231	4,458,195	52.5%
2001	10,775,836	5,088,470	47.2%
2006	10,450,788	4,109,449	39.3%
2011	13,954,129	5,428,369	38.9%
2016	15,277,198	5,971,872	39.1%
2021	18,103,603	6,042,898	33.4%
<b>2026</b>	<b>21,681,491</b>	<b>7,944,772</b>	<b>36.6%</b>

The opposition record confirms the same structural reality. No opposition candidate has crossed a quarter of the registered electorate in a presidential race. That is why courage alone has not been enough. The regime wins with minority breadth. The opposition loses with insufficient breadth. The silent majority remains structurally unrepresented.

The constitutional amendments tell the same story in law. In 2005, term limits were removed. In 2017, Parliament repealed the presidential age limit. Each change was an admission that the sitting ruler could not safely rely on old restraints. Rules secure to a genuinely dominant consent coalition are preserved. Rules threatening to a narrowing coalition are rewritten.

## PART THIRTEEN

### The Succession That Has Already Begun

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The succession question is not abstract anymore. On 27 March 2026, the NRM Parliamentary Caucus met at State House Entebbe and formally resolved to back the proposed Protection of Sovereignty Bill alongside the regime's budget priorities. The election had just passed. Succession anxiety was rising. The state moved to build legal perimeter.

That is where the Sovereignty Bill does its deepest political work. It is not only an NGO law. It is not only a foreign funding law. On critics' reading, it creates a legal pathway to recode Ugandans abroad as foreigners in relation to their own republic. Civil society critics say that collides with Article 15 of the Constitution and the Citizenship and Immigration Control framework. The issue is bigger than funding. It goes to citizenship itself.

That makes the contradiction lethal. Uganda amended its citizenship framework to permit dual citizenship because the state recognized that Ugandans in the diaspora contribute enormously to national development, maintain economic linkages, and should remain legally tied to home while holding another nationality. The same state now backs a bill that critics say could subject diaspora civic and financial engagement to foreign agent style suspicion. The regime wants diaspora dollars without diaspora citizenship, remittances without voice, money without political belonging.

The penalties sharpen the point. The Bill prescribes imprisonment of up to 20 years and fines of up to UGX 2 billion for persons found guilty of acting as unregistered agents of a foreigner. Clause 22 caps foreign funding at roughly UGX 400 million within any 12 month period without prior written Ministerial approval, with no deemed approval mechanism and no independent appeal. Clause 28 authorizes warrantless inspections of any premises, including private family homes, suspected of foreign agent activity, directly assaulting the right to privacy guaranteed under Article 27 of the Constitution. Clauses 29 and 30 grant the Minister for Internal Affairs power to create new criminal offences and amend penalties through statutory instruments, bypassing Parliament. Legal analysts have warned that this breaches the separation of powers doctrine.

*That is not normal sovereignty protection. That is discretionary relabeling power backed by crippling punishment. The state does not need to prove treason if it can administratively recode citizenship as foreign interference.*

Then place that legal perimeter beside command architecture. On 17 February 2024, State House announced the launch of the UPDF Establishment 2021, which the Commander in Chief described as an instrument of delegated command, control, and administration of the Forces, grounded in Article 98(1) of the Constitution and Section 8(1) and (2)(a) of the UPDF Act 2005. Thirty three days later, on 21 March 2024, Museveni appointed his son, Gen Muhoozi Kainerugaba, as Chief of Defence Forces. The Constitution still names the President as commander in chief, but the practical command structure was visibly strengthened at the CDF level just before the son was placed in the office. The inference is unavoidable. Succession planning in Uganda is no longer only about the presidency. It is about command architecture protected by legal perimeter.

Muhoozi's conduct since then deepens the concern. On 11 December 2024 he promoted four brigadiers to the rank of Acting Major General, a power previously reserved to the Commander in Chief. In May 2025 he said missing opposition activist Eddie Mutwe was in his basement, posted a photograph of him, and said he would release him only on his father's orders. The Uganda Human Rights Commission, a constitutional body under Article 51 of the Constitution, ordered Mutwe's release. He publicly threatened Bobi Wine after the January 2026 election, stating that his forces had killed 22 members of the National Unity Platform and that he hoped Bobi Wine would be the 23rd. In April 2026, he publicly demanded 1 billion US dollars from the Republic of Turkey through posts on his verified X account. That is not military professionalism. That is public warning about what happens when state power, private command, and family succession begin to merge.

That is why the Sovereignty Bill belongs here, not in a footnote. It is pre succession perimeter control. The state is not only moving command. It is trying to decide which

Ugandans will still count as Ugandan when power becomes fragile. That is not sovereignty. That is constitutional denationalization in service of inheritance.

#### PART FOURTEEN

### A Word to Those Who No Longer Believe Elections Matter

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Skepticism about Ugandan elections is not irrational. The state has earned it. But skepticism without architecture decays into despair, and despair is politically useful to any regime that wants passive subjects rather than active citizens.

The Mulungi Plan is not asking Ugandans to believe in the next election as presently constituted. It asks them to believe in the constitutional architecture that can make an election mean what the Constitution says it should mean. The sequence is everything. Build the replacement architecture first. Narrow the room for military inheritance. Protect officers and business families from panic. Re anchor transition in law. Then elections become instruments of choice rather than ritual.

#### PART FIFTEEN

### The Mulungi Plan and the Presidential Transition Authority

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What replaces a colonial machine governed by a militarized civilian executive for the benefit of a narrowing family center?

**A republic governed by a constitution on behalf of a country.**

The Mulungi Plan begins with sovereignty. Uganda never signed many of the laws it still lives under. The first task is a full constitutional and statutory audit, with special attention to the legal residue protected through Article 274. Citizenship must cease to be administered through inherited colonial logic. Ugandans must decide who a Ugandan is under a republican framework, not a protectorate afterlife.

It continues with civilian rule. Soldiers return to barracks. Civilians govern. That is not anti army. It is pro republic. Every serving officer is better protected under a constitutional transfer system than under a hereditary military gamble. Better pay, stronger pension, dignified housing, and a clear professional path under civilian command stabilize the soldier while returning sovereignty to the citizen.

It moves through opportunity and circulation. The fiscal model is designed around a 15 percent flat income tax, a 15 percent VAT, and quarterly regional cashback so money stays closer to where it is earned. Every worker, from boda rider to civil servant, is linked to 3 protected accounts: a current account, a 5 year investment account, and a pension account that activates at 65 and pays for life. Rural areas receive a higher cashback share than urban areas. That is not welfare theater. It is circulation architecture designed to turn taxation into visible ownership.

It reorganizes power through proximity. The 8+16+1 architecture creates 8 lean ministries, 16 subregional parliaments with real fiscal and legislative power, and 1 federal

capital. Districts become service engines rather than patronage waiting rooms. Villages stop living at the mercy of a far away center. Urban and rural Uganda stop functioning like separate worlds. The Village State receives real administrative power over health, security, education, and local government.

It nourishes education and health where people actually live. Campaign style learning ties education to the future of work rather than memory alone. The Hotspot Grid model carries care across the country while keeping access close to the village. A republic that wants ownership cannot keep treating intelligence and survival as privileges of Kampala.

It addresses land and housing directly. Uganda's housing deficit stands at 2.4 million units. Forced displacement remains brutal. The Mulungi Plan ends land as political reward, protects customary and community tenure, halts armed evictions, and builds an affordable housing framework so every family has secure ground to stand on.

*A Presidential Transition Authority sits at the apex of the Federal Council as the constitutional guardian. Nine members: three Commissioners (Judicial, Legislative, Multiparty), four Members (Interfaith, Business, Media, Civil Society), two non-voting ex-officio (Cultural and Military), and one Citizen Auditor General. Commissioners serve a single six-year term. Members serve three-year staggered terms. No second term for anyone, in any capacity.*

Its mandate: certify elections, guarantee peaceful transitions, approve senior judicial appointments, and audit every office above it. A free press is protected as the fourth estate, fully facilitated and independent under the Mulungi Plan.

That is how a war is stopped before it begins. Senior officers are given an off ramp that does not require them to defend inheritance in order to survive. Business families are given continuity rather than panic. Citizens are given a visible constitutional rail rather than rumor. The opposition is given a path beyond heroism into institution. The outgoing regime is given safety within law, not humiliation outside it. Constitutional transition becomes less threatening than violent continuity. That is the only formula that lowers the incentive for preemptive force.

**The Mulungi Plan therefore does not merely oppose succession. It replaces the incentives that make violent succession attractive.**

## PART SIXTEEN

### A Word to the Diaspora, and to Brussels, and to Washington

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To the diaspora: you are not a wallet with a passport. You are evidence. Uganda's own citizenship framework was amended because the state recognized that Ugandans in the diaspora make an enormous contribution to the country's economic and social development, help attract investment, and must be allowed to maintain legal linkages with home. The Sovereignty Bill now threatens to turn that recognition backward by casting distance itself as suspicion. You are being asked for dollars while being warned away from civic voice.

To Brussels, Washington, London, Stockholm, Berlin, and every partner that has mistaken suspended collapse for peace: Uganda is not a low risk status quo. A hereditary military succession built around command ambiguity and legal perimeter control is not stability. It is delayed fracture. The Mulungi Plan is not a moral appeal. It is a risk mitigation architecture. It is the constitutional alternative to inheritance through the gun.

## PART SEVENTEEN

### What Remains

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What remains when constitutional order is restored, the law is honored as written, and fear stops doing political work for the regime?

Uganda's postponed truth remains. The country has never solved the architecture of consent. It changed rulers without changing the operating system that privileges force, faction, and managed legality over broad civic agreement. Museveni became the sharpest expression of that problem. He is not the whole problem. Remove him without replacing the architecture and Uganda will produce another version of him, whether in uniform, in a suit, or in the language of reform.

The real legacy of the regime will not be that it ruled long. Many regimes ruled long. Its real legacy is proving that Uganda can be held for decades without majority endorsement if coercion, law, fear, and fragmentation are arranged carefully enough. The next version is already visible in command. That is why the Ownership Generation cannot stop at protest.

| *The instrument now exists.*

The republic can still be restored through constitutional means. The succession can still be blocked through constitutional means. The war can still be stopped before it begins through constitutional means.

**End pain. Heal Uganda for good.**

**Build a new country, reborn.**

**#theMulungiPlan**

#### ABOUT THE AUTHOR

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George W Magera is the Architect of the Mulungi Plan, President of the People's Progressive Party Uganda, and Principal of MSGROUP Global LLC, a Virginia-based strategic consulting firm specializing in governance design, institutional reform, and economic architecture for African states and emerging markets. He holds a Master of Arts in International Policy and Practice from the Elliott School of International Affairs at George Washington University. Over the past two years he has traveled all 125 districts of Uganda and held more than 250 community meetings as part of the foundational work for the Mulungi Plan.

#### ABOUT THIS DOSSIER

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This article is a constitutional analysis written in defense of the 1995 Constitution of the Republic of Uganda. Every fact cited is drawn from the public record, from regime-issued documents, from official electoral data, and from public statements made by named officials on verified public platforms. The Mulungi Plan and the work of its Architect are committed to non-violent, lawful, and constitutional means of national renewal. The companion dossier, *What the Republic Pays You*, sets out the economic dividend of the Plan in full detail.

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